

## Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY CARACAS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8004

WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 CARACAS 5872

NSC FOR BRZEZINSKI FROM PASTOR

EO 11652 GDS

TAGS: OVIP (CARTER, MRS ROSALYNN), VE

SUBJ: MRS CARTER'S FIRST CONVERSATION WITH

PRESIDENT CARLOS ANDRES PEREZ, JUNE 10

1. SUMMARY. MRS CARTER MET WITH PRESIDENT PEREZ  
FOR AN HOUR JUNE 10. SHE DESCRIBED THE GENERAL  
OUTLINES OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S FOREIGN POLICY IN  
DETAIL, AND ASKED FOR PEREZ' REACTIONS. PRESIDENT  
PEREZ RELATED HIS THOUGHTS AT LENGTH, MAKING THE  
FOLLOWING POINTS: A) PEREZ WHOLEHEARTEDLY SUPPORTED  
PRESIDENT CARTER'S STAND ON HUMAN RIGHTS. THIS  
WAS A MAJOR TURNING POINT IN HISTORY, AND THE  
POLICY WOULD HAVE TANGIBLE EFFECT. B) JAMAICA  
AND MANLEY NEEDED TO BE HELPED; THS WOULD PUT  
THEM ON OUR SIDE. THE PRESIDENT SAID THE  
GOV WAS STUDYING THE SUGGESTION OF A JOINT ECONOMIC  
ASSISTANCE PACKAGE FOR JAMAICA. C) PEREZ CALLED  
AFRICA ONE OF THE WORLD'S MOST SERIOUS PROBLEMS.  
IF THE US DID NOT TAKE THE LEADERSHIP OF THE BLACK  
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RACE IN ITS FIGHT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION, THE  
SOVIETS WOULD MAKE GREAT GAINS IN AFRICA AND  
CASTRO WOULD BECOME THE CHAMPION OF THE BLACK RACE,  
INCREASING HIS INFLUENCE IN THE CARIBBEAN.  
D) LATIN AMERICA WANTED BOTH BILATERAL AND MULTI-  
LATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE US. THE OAS SHOULD BE STRENGTHENED.  
IT WAS IN THE OAS THAT THE LATINOS FELT THE US WAS

COMMITTED TO LATIN AMERICA. E) THE CUBAN CASE WAS COMPLICATED. THE US POLICY WAS INTELLIGENT BUT WOULD ENCOUNTER DIFFICULTY FROM VESTED INTERESTS AND CUBAN EXILES. BUT NOW WAS THE TIME TO RE-ESTABLISH CONTACT. F) TORRIJOS IS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT PANAMA. HE HAS URGED TORRIJOS TO REACH AN AGREEMENT NOW. IF IT IS NOT DONE NOW US-LA RELATIONS WILL PASS THRU VERY SERIOUS TIMES. G) PRESIDENT CARTER'S STAND ON NON-PROLIFERATION HAD PUSHED ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL INTO ACCEPTING SAFEGUARDS. VIDELA TOLD HIM ARGENTINA WOULD RATIFY THE TLATELOLCO TREATY. H) THE SOUTHERN CONE COUNTRIES WOULD SEEK A NON-INTERVENTION RESOLUTION AT GRENADA AS AN "ANSWER" TO THE US HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY. WE SHOULD SEEK A STATEMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO BALANCE IT. I) THE PER/CHILE/ECUADOR TENSIONS CONSTITUTED THE GREATEST CURRENT WAR THREAT IN THE REGION. THE ONLY ANSWER IS TO PUSH A BOLIVIAN ACCESS TO THE SEA FORMULA BASED ON OUTSIDE PROMISE OF ECONOMIC AID TO INTEGRATE THE REGION. THIS WAS URGENT. J) IN RESPONSE TO MRS CARTER'S PLEA ON BEHALF OF MRS NIEHOUS HE SAID THE GOV WAS CONTINUING ITS INVESTIGATION AND HE HOPED IT COULD BE SETTLED BY THE END OF THE YEAR. END SUMMARY.

2. MRS CARTER, MRS HOYT AMB TODMAN, AMB VAKY AND DR PASTOR MET WITH PRESIDENT CARLOS ANDRES PEREZ (CAP) JUNE 10 AT 5:30PM. ALSO PRESENT WERE FOREIGN MINISTER ESCOVAR AND AMB IRIBARREN  
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AFTER THE INITIAL GREETINGS AND PHOTOS, CAP COMMENTED THAT IT WAS A PLEASURE TO HAVE MRS CARTER IN VENEZUELA, AND OBSERVED THAT IT WAS VERY WISE OF PRESIDENT CARTER TO SEND HIS WIFE ON THIS TRIP. THE CONTACTS WERE HIGHLY IMPORTANT. HE ADMIRERD THE WAY PRESIDENT CARTER HAS ORIENTED US POLICY. IT WAS REFRESHING FOR DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES TO HEAR A CHIEF OF STATE SPEAK IN THE LANGUAGE OF ETHICS AND MORALITY. THIS WAS A GREAT STIMULUS TO DEMOCRACIES, AND IT WILL SURELY ACHIEVE GREAT CHANGES.

3. MRS CARTER HANDED OVER A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CARTER WHICH CAP READ. HE THEN EXPRESSED HIS APPRECIATION AND SAID HE SHARED THE BELIEF THAT COOPERATION ON ALL THESE MATTERS WAS ESSENTIAL. HE ADDED THAT THERE WAS NO ASPECT OF US POLICY ON WHICH WE DISAGREE.

4. MRS CARTER NOTED THE LONG INTEREST SHE AND THE

PRESIDENT HAD HAD IN LATIN AMERICA, AND THAT HE HAD WASNTED TO HER TO MAKE THE TRIP EARLIER TO DEMONSTRATE THIS INTEREST. PRESIDENT CARTER BELIEVES THERE IS A NEED TO CONDUCT FOREIGN POLICY ON THE BASIS OF OPENNESS AND CONSENSUS. THE TIME IS PASSED WHEN JUST A FEW COUNTRIES MADE THE DECISIONS. WE NEED A WIDER INTERNATIONAL PARTICIPATION. WE SEE THE COUNTRIES OF LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN AS IMPORTANT IN THIS EMERGING WORLD COMMUNITY ESPECIALLY IN TERMS OF MEETING THE NEEDS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

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5. PRESIDENT CARTER, SHE SAID, WANTED HER TO EXPLAIN IN GENERAL TERMS THE OUTLINE OF HIS FOREIGN POLICY. HE KNOWS HE WILL HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY SHORTLY TO SPEAK TO CAP IN WASHINGTON. SHE WANTED THEREFORE TO EXPLAIN THE GENERAL IDEAS OF US FOREIGN POLICY, AND THE TWO PRESIDENTS COULD TALK AABOUT SPECIFICS IN WASHINGTON. IN HIS VARIOUS SPEECHES, MRS CARTER SAID, THE PRESIDENT STRESSED A) THE NEED FOR WIDER INTERNATIONAL PARTICIPATION BY ALL COUNTRIES, B) THE NEED TO WORK TOGETHER ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND C) THE NEED TO END THE SPECTER OF WAR. THE LAST APPLIES TO NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL ARMS. THE PRESIDENT ON MANY OCCASIONS IN HIS CAMPAIGN PLEDGED TO ELIMINATE NUCLEAR WEAPONS; ALTHOUGH OBVIOUSLY THIS IS NOT GOING TO BE DONE OVERNIGHT. THE US WANTS TO HALT PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR ARMS AND ELIMINATE STOCKS. MRS. CARTER NOTED THAT ONLY RECENTLY SHE ATTENDED THE CERE-

MONEY IN WHICH THE US SIGNED PROTOCOL ONE OF THE TLATELOLOCO TREATY. CAP NOTED THAT HIS WAS A STEP THAT WAS GREATLY APPLAUDED.

6. MRS CARTER OBSERVED THAT DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES  
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LIKE OURS HAVE A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD OTHERS TO SHOW THAT THESE THINGS SUCH AS ARMS CONTROL AND HUMAN RIGHTS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED. SHE NOTED THAT SHE HAD TALKED TO ALL THE LEADERS OF THE COUNTRIES SHE VISITED ABOUT NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS. IN BRAZIL, SHE SAID, THERE WAS RELUCTANCE TO PLACE THE TLATELOCO TREATY INTO EFFECT BECAUSE THEY ARE AFRAID THAT ARGENTINA AND THE USSR WILL NOT TAKE SUCH A STEP. ARGENTINA HAS THE SAME FEAR. SO THE RESPONSIBILITY IS ON US TO SEE THAT THEY TAKE THESE STEPS AND TURN THEIR ORAL COMMITMENTS INTO WRITTEN ONES. ON CONVENTIONAL ARMS, SHE SAID, PRESIDENT CARTER ANNOUNCED SEVERAL WEEKS AGO THAT WE WOULD REDUCE ARMS SALES GRADUALLY EVERY YEAR. WE WOULD NOT BE THE FIRST TO INTRODUCE SOPHISTICATED MILITARY EQUIPMENT. WE WOULD WORK WITH MANUFACTURERS AND BUYERS OF ARMS TO REDUCE SUCH PURCHASES.

7. MRS CARTER WENT ON TO SAY THAT ALL OF LATIN AMERICA WANTS TO TAKE PART IN GLOBAL DECISION MAKING. CAP HAS BEEN VERY INFLUENTIAL IN EXPRESSING AND CHAMPIONING THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE DEVELOPING NATIONS. THIS IS VERY IMPORTANT. WHAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAS DONE, SHE SAID, IS TAKE HIS BASIC FOREIGN POLICY AND APPLY IT TO LATIN AMERICA: A) A COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS B) RESPECT FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUALITY OF ALL NATIONS; AND C) A COMMITMENT TO WORK WITH DEVELOPING NATIONS TO CLOSE THE GAP BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

8. THE US HAS BEEN WORKING IN THOSE DIRECTIONS TO ADDRESS PROBLEMS OF THE PAST E G PANAMA. MRS CARTER SAID THAT SHE HAD RECEIVED A CABLE FROM SECRETARY VANCE ASKING THAT SHE INFORM CAP THAT WE HOPE TO BE ABLE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A NEW TREATY BY THE END OF SUMMER. SHE HOPED THAT CAP COULD USE HIS IN-  
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FLUENCE ON TORRIJOS TO STRESS THE IMPORTANCE OF REACH-

ING AN AGREEMENT NOW. SECONDLY, WE HAVE OPENED A DIALOGUE WITH CUBA. THERE ARE STILL GREAT PROBLEMS BUT WE HAVE AT LEAST OPENED A DIALOGUE.

9. IN SUMMARY, SHE SAID, THE BASIS FOR THE WHOLE OF US FOREIGN POLICY WAS TO SEEK WIDER AND MORE FLEXIBLE FRAMEWORKS FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS, AND TO HAVE AN OPEN AND HUMANE FOREIGN POLICY. WE WANT ALSO TO CONSULT WITH THE GOVTS OF LATIN AMERICA IN DEVELOPING GLOBAL POLICIES. IN ALL OF THESE AREAS, WE RECOGNIZE CAP'S LEADERSHIP AND THE CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE PLAYED BY VENEZUELA; IN CIEC FOR EXAMPLE WHERE PRESIDENT CARTER BELIEVES THAT WE HAVE REACHED A STAGE WHERE WE NO LONGER HAVE TO BE CONFRONTATIONAL. WE CAN NOW SEARCH FOR FRAMEWORKS TO TRANSFORM IDEALS TO REALITIES. THESE, MRS CARTER SAID, WERE THE GENERAL OUTLINES OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. SHE WOULD APPRECIATE HEARING CAP'S REATION AND IDEAS.

10. CAP BEGAN BY OBSERVING THAT MRS CARTER'S ITINERARY WAS WELL CHOSEN. JAMAICA WAS VERY IMPORTANT. THE CARIBBEAN REQUIRED THE ATTENTION OF COUNTRIES SUCH AS THE US, VENEZUELA, MEXICO COLOMBIA. FIRST BECAUSE CUBAN INFLUENCE IN THE REGION WAS DANGEROUS; SECONDLY, BECAUSE THESE WERE NEW COUNTRIES AND LARGELY COMPOSED OF BLACK POPULATIONS. WHAT HAPPENED THERE WAS IMPORTANT TO THOSE NATIONS LIKE VENEZUELA AND THE US WHO HAVE BLACK POPULATIONS. BUT MOST OF ALL IT WAS IMPORTANT IN CONNECTION WITH AFRICA WHICH HE BELIEVED WOULD SOON BE THE MOST SERIOUS SITUATION IN THE WORLD. JAMAIC HE SAID WAS CLOSE TO CUBA AND UNDER GREAT CUBAN INFLUENCE. MANLEY WAS INTELLIGENT, HE WAS A SOCIAL DEMOCRAT AND NOT A COMMUNIST. TO SUPPORT HIM NOW IS TO PUT HIM ON OUR SIDE. THIS IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE ON THE PAST VARIOUS INTERESTS FORCED

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JAMAICA INTO OPPOSITION TO THE US. THUS THE PRESENT US POLICY IS NEW AND IMPORTANT.

11. CAP NOTED THAT IN COSTA RICA MRS CARTER VISITED THE ONLY DEMOCRACY IN CENTRAL AMERICA, BUT PERHPAS ITS NEIGHBORS WOULD BE STIMULATED TO EMULATE IT. HE THEN NOTED THE IMPORTANCE OF IDEAS. FDR, HE OBSERVED, WAS WIDELY LOVED IN LATIN AMERICA. BUT IF ONE EXAMINED WHAT HE DID FOR THE REGION IT WAS VERY LITTLE. WHAT HE DID WAS SPEAK REPEATEDLY IN THE LAN-

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GUAGE OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY, AND IT SPAWNED A RE-  
BIRTH OF DEMOCRACY THROUGHOUT THE REGION. THIS, CAP  
SAID, WILL HAPPEN WITH PRESIDENT CARTER. MRS. CARTER'S  
VISIT WILL HAVE IMPACT BECAUSE IT MANIFESTS DEMOCRATIC  
THOUGHT IN ACTION. MRS CARTER HAD SORELY NOTED DIF-  
FERENCES IN THE OTHER COUNTRIES SHE VISITED, CAP  
WENT ON. PERU AND ECUADOR WERE ON THE ROAD TOWARD  
DEMOCRACY. BRAZIL HAS A LONG TRADITION OF AUTHORI-  
TARIAN GOVT, BUT THERE SOME INTERNAL MOVEMENTS  
SEEKING GREATER DEMOCRACY. PERHPAS, HE SAID, MRS  
CARTER PLANTED A SEED THERE.

12. UNQUESTIONABLY, CAP SAID, LATIN AMERICA WANTS  
TWO KINDS OF RELATIONS WITH THE US-MULTILATERAL  
AND BILATERAL. THE US HAS TENDED IN THE PAST TO  
WANT TO DEAL ONLY BILATERALLY. LATIN AMERICANS DO  
NOT LIKE THAT. WE HAVE, HE SAID, REGIONAL INTERESTS.  
THAT IS WHY THE OAS IS SO IMPORTANT TO LATIN AMERICAN,  
SO IT MUST BE SUPPORTED. IT IS IMPORTANT AS A FORUM  
FOR DIALOGUE; AND IT IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE IT IS IN  
THE OAS THAT LATIN AMERICANS FEEL THE US REALLY IS  
COMMITTED TO LATIN AMERICA WITH SUCH CONCRETE THINGS  
AS THE CHARTER AND THE RIO PACT.  
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13. WITH REPSECT TO CUBA, CAP SAID, HE UNDERSTANDS

THE COMPLEXITY FROM THE US POINT OF VIEW,NOT ONLY AS REGARDS VARIOUS PROBLEMS BUT BECAUSE OF "MIAMI". BUT, HE SAID, WE HAVE REACHED A TIME WHEN WE CANNOT HAVE DETENTE IN SOME PARTS OF THE WORLD BUT NOT IN LATIN AMERICA. WE WILL HELP CUBA MORE IF WE MAINTAIN CONTACT AND REMOVE THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ISOLATION THAT CASTRO HAS UTILIZED. ANGOLA WAS A SERIOUS MATTER. CAP SAID VENEZUELA EXPRESSED ITS CONCERN AND TOLD CASTRO IT WOULD NOT REMAIN IMPASSIVE TO OTHER ADVENTURES. BUT THE ONLY WAY TO GET CASTRO'S COMMITMENTS IS TO MAINTAIN RELATIONS WITH HIM. CASTRO HAS A DILEMA, CAP NOTED. HE "WANTS AND DOESN'T WAN". THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT WE HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO INFLUENCE CASTRO THRU A GLOBAL FRAMEWORK OF INTERESTED NATIONS WORKING TO THAT END. THE US CURRENT CUBAN POLICY IS INTELLIGENT. BUT RAPPROACHMENT WILL BE DIFFICULT BECAUSE OF VESTED INTERESTS AND THE LARGE CUBAN EXILE POPULATION IN THE US.

14. CAP THEN TURNED TO AFRICA AND SAID THAT ON HIS MIDDLE EASTERN TRIP HE BECAME AWARE OF THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE SITUATION THERE. HE IS CONVINCED, HE SAID, THAT IF PRESIDENT CARTER DOES NOT ADOPT A FIRM AND AUDACIOUS POLICY OF MAKING THE US THE LEADER OF THE BLACK RACE IN ITS FIGHT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION THE USSR WILL MAKE RAPID GAINS IN THE CONTINENT. CASTRO WILL BECOME THE CHAMPION OF THE BLACK RACE. THIS IS ALL VERY GRAVE, HE SAID, AND APPROACHES THE MIDDLE EASTERN PROBLEM IN GRAVITY.

15. CAP THEN SAID THAT AS REGARDS PANAMA TORRIJOS HAS EXPRESSED OPTIMISM. CAP SAID HE HAD TOLD TORRIJOS TOTAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE SITUATION NOW BECAUSE LATER  
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IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR PRESIDENT CARTER, GIVEN THE US POLITICAL PROCESS, TO GET A TREATY THRU CONGRESS IN AN ELECTION YEAR. CAP SAID HE REALIZES THAT ETHICS AND THE SENSE OF WHAT IS RIGHT HAVE LED PRESIDENT CARTER TO THIS POLICY AND THAT HE WILL ENCOUNTER OPPOSITION. BUT AT THE SAME TIME IF HE DOES NOT MOVE NOW, RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA WILL PAS THRU A VERY SERIOUS TIME. WHAT WILL HAPPEN, HE ASKED? IF TALKS FAIL SOONER OR LATER SOME GROUP OR OTHER WILL SPONSOR SABOTAGE OF THE CANAL. THE US WILL THEN BE OBLIGED TO USE FORCE AND INTERVENE. AND THEN ALL OF LATIN AMERICA WOULD PROTEST, AND, CAP SAID, HE WOULD LEAD THE PROTEST. THESE ARE THE REALITIES. CAP SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THE US PROBLEM.

BUT ON THE OTHER HAND LATIN AMERICANS COULD NOT ACCEPT INTERVENTION. SO THE MATTER SHOULD BE SETTLED NOW.

16. CAP SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT ONLY A VERY FEW POINTS WERE LEFT TO BE DECIDED. HE UNDERSTOOD THAT PANAMA WAS WORRIED ABOUT REFERENCES THAT IN CASE OF WAR US SHIPS WOULD GET PREFERENCE. HE UNDERSTANDS THIS IS INCLUDED FOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL PURPOSES IN THE US, BUT THERE WAS NO SUBSTANTIVE NEED BECAUSE SHO WOULD IMAGINE THAT THE US WOULD NOT GET PRIORITY. THIS IS ONE POINT ON WHICH PERHAPS SOME ACCOMMODATION NEEDS TO BE WORKED OUT. BUT TORRIJOS SAYS THAT NOW "HE BELIEVES THE GRINGOS ARE SERIOUS".

17. ON NUCLEAR MATTERS, CAP SAID HE SUPPORTED CARTER'S POLICY. VENEZUELA HAD BEEN WORRIED ABOUT BRAZIL. HE HAD PROTESTED TO GERMANY BUT ITS ANSWERS WERE NOT TOTALLY SATISFACTORY. HE HAD SUGGESTED THAT HIS NEIGHBORS ALSO EXPRESS CONCERN TO GERMANY. SO PRESIDENT CARTER'S STAND WAS HIGHLY IMPORTANT. IT KILL KEEP BRAZIL FROM MAKING THE BOMB. IF THE AGREEMENT WITH GERMANY HAD NOT BEEN MODIFIED TO ADD SAFE-CONFIDENTIAL

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GUARDS, BRAZIL WOULDHAVE MADE THE BOMB. DURING ARGENTINE PRESIDENT VIDELA'S VISIT TO CARACAS, CAP SAID, HE DISCUSSED THE NUCLEAR QUESTION, AND URGED HIM TO SIGN A COMMITMENT FOR SAFEGUARDS. CAP SAID HE UNDERSTANDS THAT THE CANADIAN/ARGENTINE AGREEMENT IS BEING AMENDED TO DO SO. ALL OF THIS HE SAID, WE OWE TO PRESIDENT CARTER, AND OUR "SUPPORT AND APPRECIATION IS TOTAL".

18. AS TO HUMAN RIGHTS, THIS IS THE GREATEST AND MOST VALOROUS ACT OF PRESIDENT CARTER. THE CONSEQUENCES WILL BE INCALCULABLE. FOR A GREAT NATION TO SAY THESE

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THINGS BRINGS CRITICISM. BUT HISTORY WILL SHOW THAT SOME ONE HAD TO SAY THEM. THERE MUST BE A BEGINNING. IN LATIN AMERICA, THE DEMOCRACIES SHOULD STUDY, TOGETHER WITH THE US, HOW TO IMPLEMENT IT. EVENTUALLY, SOME SUPER-NATIONAL STATUTE OR RULES WILL HAVE TO BE ESTABLISHED. THIS IS A LONG STRUGGLE, BUT JUST TAKING A STAND CONSTITUTES A MAJOR HISTORICAL TURNING POINT. FURTHERMORE, CAP SAID, IT WILL HAVE PRACTICAL RESULTS. FOR EXAMPLE, SINCE PRESIDENT CARTER HAS SPOKEN UP, ALL MILITARY GOVERNMENTS ARE SUDDENLY SAYING THEY ARE ONLY TEMPORARY. THIS IS THE FIRST TANGIBLE RESULT. THERE WILL BE OTHERS.

19. MRS. CARTER SAID THAT SHE HAD SPOKEN TO ALL THE LEADERS ABOUT SIGNING AND RATIFYING THE AMERICAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND DISCUSSING IT AT THE OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY. MANLEY SAID JAMAICA WOULD SIGN AND URGE CARICOM MEMBERS TO DO SO. COSTA RICA SAID IT WOULD SUPPORT AN INCREASED BUDGET FOR THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. BOTH ECUADOR AND PANAMA SAID THEY WOULD SIGN AND RATIFY. CONFIDENTIAL

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BRAZIL MADE NO COMMITMENT. MRS. CARTER SAID SHE SPOKE TO COLOMBIAN PRESIDENT LOPEZ (COLOMBIA HAS RATIFIED) ABOUT SUPPORTING US IN A DEBATE IN THE OAS.

20. CAP SAID THAT THE VENEZUELAN CONSTITUTION STATES THAT VENEZUELA WILL SUPPORT DEMOCRACY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD BY ALL PEACEFUL MEANS. SO THIS IS A CONSTITUTIONAL OBLIGATION. IN GRENADA, HE SAID, THERE WILL BE A MOVE BY SOUTHERN CONE COUNTRIES TO PASS A RESOLUTION ON NON-INTERVENTION AS AN ANSWER TO THE US. THIS WAS ORIGINALLY "OPERATION BEACON (FAROL)". A MEETING WAS PROPOSED IN PARAGUAY, BUT IT DID NOT TAKE PLACE BECAUSE ARGENTINA INSISTED ALL SOUTH AMER-

ICAN COUNTRIES GO. ARGENTINA SENT AN EMMISARY TO INVITE VENEZUELA. CAP SAID HE NOT ONLY SAID NO, BUT ADVISED ARGENTINA NOT TO GO. PERU AND BOLIVIA SAID THEY WOULD GO ONLY IF VENEZUELA WENT, WHICH WAS THEIR WAY OF DECLINING. COLOMBIA SAID NO. BUT THE SOUTHERN CONE FOREIGN MINISTERS WILL MEET IN GRENADA TO SEEK A NON-INTERVENTION RESOLUTION. THIS IS NOT UNACCEPTABLE, BUT THERE MUST ALSO BE A STATEMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS. THEREFORE WE SHOULD PROMOTE A STATEMENT TO BALANCE THE NON-INTERVENTION ONE. THE FOREIGN MINISTER NOTED THAT THE NON-DEMOCRACIES HAD THE VOTES, AND A RESOLUTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS WOULD BE DIFFICULT. CAP REPLIED THAT WE SHOULD NEGOTIATE A DEAL TO EXCHANGE SUPPORT FOR NON-INTERVENTION FOR SUPPORT ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS STATEMENT WITH UNANIMITY THE PRIZE.

21. MRS. CARTER RETURNED TO THE TLATELOCO TREATY AND OBSERVED THAT BRAZIL HAD SAID IT WOULD NOT WAIVE THE CONDITIONS TO PUT IT INTO EFFECT UNLESS ARGENTINA DID. CAP SAID VIDELA HAD TOLD HIM ARGENTINA WOULD RATIFY THE TLATELOCO TREATY.

22. MRS. CARTER ASKED IF THERE WERE ANY PARTICULAR  
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POINTS THAT PRESIDENT PEREZ WOULD LIKE TO RAISE. CAP SAID THAT VENEZUELA WAS STUDYING THE POSSIBILITY OF HELPING JAMAICA FINANCIALLY AND ECONOMICALLY. IT NEEDED HELP. THE MOST SERIOUS THING IS THAT OTHER CARIBBEAN NATIONS WERE NOT EVEN AS RICH AS JAMAICA. MINI-STATES HAD NO BASIS FOR VIABILITY AND WERE PREY TO POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC "MAFIAS". THIS WAS ALL VERY GRAVE. AMB TODMAN ASKED CAP WHAT HIS VIEWS WERE ON THE ANDEAN PROBLEM--PERU/CHILE/ECUADOR AND THE ARMS RACE THERE. CAP REPLIED THAT THIS WAS THE MOST SERIOUS CURRENT WAR THREAT IN THE REGION. PERU HAS CULTIVATED A THIRST FOR REVENGE AGAINST CHILE. ITS ECONOMY WAS ADVERSELY AFFECTED BECAUSE OF ARMS PURCHASES. CAP SAID HE HAD COMPLAINED TO THE USSR ABOUT SELLING ARMS AND PLANES WHICH HE UNDERSTANDS PERU WILL BE ACQUIRING SHORTLY. ECUADOR IS JEALOUS AND FEARS PERU. IT WORRIES THAT THE OIL LINE PERU IS BUILDING CAN BE USED ONLY FOR ECUADOREAN OIL. BOLIVIA KNOWS THAT IF THERE IS A WAR BETWEEN PERU AND CHILE, BOLIVIAN TERRITORY WILL BE INVOLVED. HENCE SHE TOO WANTS TO ARM. CHILE WITH A RIGID TOTALITARIAN GOVERNMENT ALSO ARMS. THE TRAGIC PART IS THAT THE US IN ORDER TO PRESERVE THE BALANCE FEELS OBLIGED TO SELL ARMS TO CHILE TO OFFSET THE PERUVIAN PURCHASE OF SOVIET ARMS, WHICH IS A CONTRADICTION OF

PRESIDENT CARTER'S PRINCIPLES.

23. THE ONLY SOLUTION TO THE ANDEAN PROBLEM, CAP WENT ON, WAS FOR A GROUP, HEADED BY THE US, TO SPONSOR A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF BOLIVIAN ACCESS TO THE SEA. THIS WOULD END THE PERUVIAN-CHILEAN TERRITORIAL RIVALRY. TO BE SUCCESSFUL, WHAT WAS NEEDED WAS A PLAN TO COUPLE THE SOLUTION WITH ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE THAT WOULD INTEGRATE THE WHOLE AREA. WE SHOULD MOVE QUICKLY, CAP SAID, OR ELSE WAR WILL OCCUR.

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24. AS A FINAL NOTE, MRS. CARTER RAISED THE POINT OF THE NIEHOUS KIDNAPPING. MRS. NIEHOUS HAD WRITTEN TO HER AND ASKED THAT SHE RAISE IT. CAP SAID THE GOV HAS WORKED DILIGENTLY ON THE CASE. THEY HAVE THE MAJOR SUSPECTS UNDER ARREST, BUT THEY WILL NOT TALK, AND UNFORTUNATELY THE PRACTICE OF DEMOCRATIC HUMAN RIGHTS MAKES THE SUSPECTS BRAVE IN THEIR REFUSAL TO TALK. CAP SAID HE HOPED THAT THE CASE WOULD BE SETTLED BY YEAR'S END. HE DID NOT KNOW IF NIEHOUS WAS ALIVE, BUT HE HAD NO INDICATION HE WAS DEAD SO ONE MUST HAVE HOPE. HE WAS SORRY NOT TO HAVE GOOD NEWS FOR MRS. NIEHOUS. HE UNDERSTANDS HER ANGUISH. VAKY

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**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
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**To:** STATE WHITE HOUSE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009